1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

[526] [302] [611] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɲlélc'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɲlélc'lt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: [526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] [221] [526] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɲlélc'lt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɲlél, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

● 844 [603] [846] A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbĕ'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become preg- [178] nant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

969 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843

Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observ-
844 ances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846

The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the 114 section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawšáʔaʔi?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With [162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [621] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaš gepímiʔ miíʔgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ miíʔgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, miíʔgimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ʔémuyi hakí.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš hákí miíʔgiʔnawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

844
[272] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother
[263] from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not
[515] washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given
[834] birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord
[752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen
[824] and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to
[757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or
[824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in
[842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on
[754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

846

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178 [431] [777] 846

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

[757] [302]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?émluhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabert personal communication
4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Chiefs (vohemavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvisi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinapomo)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamovoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2177. Captives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	·
2181a. 30 ("month")	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2182. Ground warmed	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 571
NWA 622
NWA [624]
NWA 621
423
NWA 721
NWA 727
NA 778
832
NWA 844

[p.407]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS-

		To	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Ka	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	All
	2184. Hot stones for warming ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2185. Pit warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
	2186. Husband gets firewood	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2187.	Delivery: mother kneels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2188. Mother lies flat	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2191. Strap tied around waist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194.	Midwife usually is: husband	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2195. Person with special power	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2196. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2197. Any female relative	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	2199. Grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a.	Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2200.	Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2203.	Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
	2205. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2207.	Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
2208.	Treatment of mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2212. Salt taboo	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2213. Work taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2214. Uses scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2215.	Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2216. Paints self	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2217. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2221.	Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2222. Steamed when born	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2224. Bathed every morning	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2225.	Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2227. Tied with string	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2229.	Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2229a. Placed in sack with yadupi	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	2232. Placed in antelope wallow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2238. Buried shady side of sage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2239.	Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2240.	1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241.	2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242.	3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243.	Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2245. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 408]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	–	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2250. Runs after bath	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	·	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2254a. During wife's confinement	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2254b. Indefinite period	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2256. Smoking forbidden	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2259. Father must: run daily	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2260a. 10	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2260b. 30	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2262. Run any direction	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
2263. Run in morning	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2275. Paints self red	–	+	·	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2281b. 6-12 months	–	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2284. 1 twin killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2288. Unwanted infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2290. Killing: By sitting on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2291. By putting in badger hole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292. By leaving outdoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292a. Any way	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2293. Abortion	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2294. By pressure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2295. By lying on rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

[p.409]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. To: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DV). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W [844] 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

W [844] 2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: Afterbirth is buried in delivery house or burned.

A [844] 2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N 846 2228. Kü: + (GN).

2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: - (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 844 846 2239. The first cradle and those used during the confinement were crude and simply made. (See Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p.444(6)]